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> The distinctive characteristic of the corporate peasant community is that it represents a bounded social system with clear-cut limits, in relations to both outsiders and insiders. It has structural identity over time. Seen from the outside, the community as a whole carries on a series of activities and upholds certain "collective representations." Seen from within, it defines the rights and duties of its members and prescribes large segments of their behavior (Wolf 1955:456). . .
>
> The open community differs from the corporate peasant community in a number of ways . . . The open community comprises a number of subcultures of which the peasantry is only one, . . . (it) emphasizes continuous interaction with the outside world and ties its fortunes to outside demands (Wolf 1955:462). . .
>
> The open community lends itself to rapid shifts in production because it is possible to mobilize the peasant and to orient him rapidly toward the expanding market. Land is usually owned privately. Decisions for change can be made by individual families. Property can be mortgaged, or pawned in return for capital. The community qua community cannot interfere in such change. (Wolf 1955:463).

Wolf of course did not intend these classifications to be an either-or device, and degrees of commitment to one or another community organization are to be expected. In terms of economic involvements with the money economy, the Cayapa display many of the features of the open peasant community; they own their land individually and may alienate it individually. Decisions are made by individual families and the community cannot interfere

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except in one instance. The Cayapa of the Río Cayapas have decided that no Indian may sell land to a Negro in the upper reaches of the river. Rumors are constantly reported that Negroes are moving in and there is definite concern that community strength is not sufficient to maintain the boundaries. The meager historical data indicate that in the early nineteenth century the Cayapa were largely self sufficient and were not producing much for cash. By the 1900's their wants and needs had increased and they were now engaged in the small scale production and sale of rubber and Tagua nuts. By the end of the first world war rubber and Tagua were major cash crops in the region. During the second world war rubber boomed and Tagua declined almost to the vanishing point. After the war the rubber market similarly declined. By now the Cayapa were well used to money and the things that money could buy, sewing machines, rifles, shotguns, shot, powder, cloth, watches, rubber boots, ready-made clothing, cosmetics, patent medicines, pressure lamps, rice, sugar, soft drinks, and many other products of our tinsel civilization. After the Second World War, Ecuador became a center of a banana boom and the Cayapa were affected greatly. Like the Negroes,

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

CHAPTER V

LAND, PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

Land is the basis of the Cayapa economy. The region, undefined and unsurveyed, has been deeded to the Cayapa as a tribe. Negroes and Whites who desire land must purchase it from an Indian in order to have a clear title. The title is for the land itself and not just for usufruct. The Cayapa may obtain land by cutting it out of the virgin forest (monte virgen). He may buy it or he may inherit it. More land is available for subsistence farming than for other purposes. For the cash crop of bananas the land must be of good quality, well drained, and within easy access of a navigable stream that flows into the main river body traveled by la Propaganda, the banana buyers. In addition, the grower must be able to meet the banana boat on schedule. A stand of rubber trees will also increase the value of the land. Rubber is sold in Colombia where, traditionally, the price is higher than in Ecuador and retail prices on consumer items wanted by the Cayapa are cheaper. Once a year, as a rule,